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AN  ASSESSMENT
OF
REVISIONISM

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OF

REVISIONISM

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FOREWORD

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This working paper makes no pretense at scholarly completeness or philosophical definitude. It is designed to be of assistance to officers concerned with Revisionism's effect on the International Communist Movement [REDACTED]

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The study does not in any way set forth official policy or opinion concerning Revisionism, nor does it attempt to evaluate Revisionism apart from orthodox Communism. It identifies the essence of Revisionism, notes its recurrence and tenacity throughout the history of the Communist movement, and sets forth Revisionism's arguments against orthodox Soviet Communism. Some of the "virtues" of Revisionism--i.e., attributes less repugnant than those of orthodox Communism--are listed: its inclination toward independence and objectivity in thought; its critical attitude toward the dogmatism and authoritarianism of orthodox Communism and its somewhat greater (and possibly more honest) concern for individual values and human dignity. [REDACTED]

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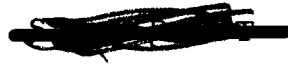
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INTRODUCTION

This study grew out of an inquiry into the origin, nature, and seriousness of the crisis in the International Communist Movement (ICM) which broke into the open after the "secret speech" denigrating Stalin, delivered by Khrushchev at the 20th Soviet Party Congress in February 1956. Certain aspects of this crisis are clearly recognizable: it is in its general nature both ideological and organizational (or political); and its chief instigators and supporters are creative writers and intellectuals, Party ideologists and theoreticians, youths and students, and national patriots. These two aspects of the ICM crisis were clearly observable in the demonstrations of unrest within the whole Sino-Soviet bloc, in the ever bolder demands by Bloc regimes and by Communist parties for greater latitude of thought and action, and in the outright rebellion of certain Communist parties, factional groups, individual party leaders, and front organizations. The following factors pertaining to the crisis are less obvious, however, or have been entirely unnoticed: its severity and probable duration, the indispensability of the affected individuals for the smooth functioning of the ICM machinery, and the relationship of the forces behind the crisis to those organizations, movements, groups, and individuals outside the ICM



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Additional insight into the crisis was provided by the November 1957 meeting of top ICM leaders assembled in Moscow to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution. This meeting was devoted to an

analysis of the ICM crisis and to the formulation of general procedures and specific methods of combatting it. The results of the analysis and the formula for solving the crisis were incorporated in the widely-publicized Twelve-Party Declaration. The Declaration contains two points which have a direct bearing on the subject of this study. First, the Declaration labels the force underlying the crisis as "Revisionism", defines it, and designates it as the "chief danger". Secondly, the Declaration calls for an obligatory ICM-wide crusade against "Revisionism" and announces a decision to found an official ICM journal, subsequently named Problems of Peace and Socialism, charged with a "paramount duty to fight against all expressions of bourgeois ideology and first of all against revisionism."

The ICM definition of "Revisionism" identifies it as violation of the established, basic Marxist-Leninist principles. Revisionists are alleged to violate three basic principles. These are: (1) recognition of the existence of antagonistic class struggle which can be resolved only by establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat; (2) insistence on the leading role of the Party, which can be implemented only by organizing the Party in accordance with democratic centralism; and (3) avowal of international workers' solidarity (or proletarian internationalism) by accepting the leading role of the Soviet Union. On the surface this analysis appears to reflect a reasonable view of the phenomenon of "Revisionism", for the "Revisionists" do in fact hold different views regarding these three principles. The Communist record in dealing with dissidence and insubordination is itself a sufficient warning, however, against acceptance at face value of even the most

plausible-sounding declarations, slogans, and definitions. Therefore, it is safe to assume that the real objective of the Twelve-Party Declaration is not to clarify the phenomenon of "Revisionism" objectively but to define and present it in such a way as to discredit it.

A closer examination of the Twelve-Party definition of "Revisionism" discloses that it rests on deceptive premises. One such premise is that "established basic Marxist-Leninist principles" actually exist. It may rightly be asked who decided which principles are "basic" to Marxism-Leninism and by what authority they were so "established"; the only apparent answer is that the Soviets did so on their own unilateral authority. "Revisionism" accepts all three of the "basic" and "established" principles as such but offers different explanations of their meaning and applicability. Thus the somewhat camouflaged chief premise on which the Twelve-Party definition rests is that the Soviets possess a special and exclusive authority, not only to specify which principles are "basic" and "established" but also to proclaim how these principles are to be interpreted and applied in "the only correct" manner; the implication is that any other interpretation or application of these principles is automatically wrong and illegitimate. The Twelve-Party definition, resting on such deceptive premises, must be rejected if we do not wish to become victims of Soviet propaganda and if we do not want to contribute to the spreading of the pernicious notion that our potential allies, the "Revisionists", are despicable, illegitimate Marxist-Leninists.

What, then, would be an acceptable working definition of "Revisionism"? Though hidden, it is implied in the

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premises on which the Twelve-Party definition is based: "Revisionism" is a challenge to and/or a rejection of the claimed special Soviet authority in the ICM to provide the sole "scientific" philosophy, the only "basic" principles, the only "true" interpretation of these principles, the only "correct" method of their application, and the only "creative development" of Marxism-Leninism in its philosophy, methodology, and action. This conclusion can be reached also by a different line of reasoning which is presented in paragraph II-A-1, below.

Further, it may be safely assumed that the past and present reaction to this aggressive and imperialistic Soviet concept will continue to exist and sporadically to break out into the open as long as the claim to a privileged position within the ICM is pressed by the Soviets. "Revisionism", which arose as a reaction to Soviet Communist dogmatism and "orthodoxy", * will no doubt persist and be combatted, although not necessarily under the same label.

The study is divided into two parts. Discussed in Part I are the origin, development, and use of the label

* The term "orthodox" Communist is used throughout this study in the sense of a doctrinaire Party member who believes in Communist unity of action on the international level, a unity which can be achieved only when there is a recognized, single, authoritative ICM policy-making center, Moscow. The term "orthodox" is quite synonymous with the terms "Bolshevik", "Cominternist", "Cominformist".

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"Revisionism" as a means of "orthodox" Communist political attack. Particular attention is given in this section to the methods used by the CPSU and "orthodox" Communists in their efforts to establish that "Revisionism" is a violation of Marxism-Leninism rather than a challenge to their authority. Part II is devoted generally to the essence of "Revisionism" from the standpoint of the "Revisionists" and to the views of "Revisionists" as contrasted with those of "orthodox" Communists. Various Soviet propaganda myths are exposed, and a special subsection is devoted to Soviet use of other labels in relation to the current main epithet of "Revisionism". What the "Revisionists" call their scientific approach to or guideline for interpreting and applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism is contrasted with the dogmatic approach of the CPSU. Finally, various Communist ideological principles, the respective "Revisionist" and orthodox Communist views, are discussed in some detail; and a summation is made of the strengths and weaknesses of "Revisionism".

The suggestion that there be a long-range and systematic approach to the question of "Revisionism" is based on the following observations.

- a. It has existed under various labels throughout the whole history of the ICM and has alienated a sizable faction of Marxists and their erstwhile sympathizers from the ICM.
- b. It has been an important factor in the upheavals in the Communist bloc since World War II, upheavals which exposed both the aggressiveness and the inhumanity of the Soviet Communist system.

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c. It is presently considered by the CPSU and other "orthodox" Communists to be the chief danger and has a clearly indicated potential for continued existence and, possibly, growth.

d. It is, objectively speaking, a real danger to the Soviet-controlled ICM because it is, in effect, the outward manifestation of the ever-present internal contradictions in the Communist system--contradictions between theory and practice.

e. It contains all the chief philosophical and ideological principles on which all trends of internal resistance to Soviet-dominated Communism are based.

f. It is one of the more potent ideological weapons available to the non-Communist world for undermining Soviet control of the ICM and therefore deserves to be encouraged and sustained.

The indications for the continued existence and, possibly, growth of "Revisionism" and, therefore, the continued existence of the general problem of dissidence within the ICM, derive from the following general considerations.

First, the Sino-Soviet bloc by its own testimony is now rapidly concluding the "construction of Socialism"--the first stage on the road to total Communization--and has entered in some areas the phase of "transition to

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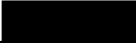
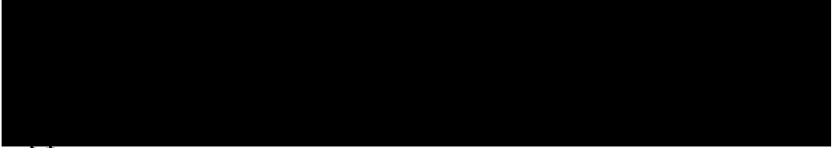
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Communism". In brief, this catchword means a significant intensification of production as exemplified by Khrushchev's Seven-Year Plan and the Chinese communes. In order to meet ambitious production goals, the Bloc leaders must consider tight labor and ideological discipline essential. Continued attack on "Revisionism" and the dramatization of its danger serve the Bloc leaders as a means of strengthening required discipline. It is not by mere chance that the most recent break with Tito occurred during the period when the Soviet Seven-Year Plan and the Chinese communes were in the development stage. Paradoxically, it could be said that the Bloc would have to invent Tito and "Revisionism" if they did not exist. For reasons of domestic policy the Bloc will need an ideological enemy for some time to come. Tito recently advised the Yugoslavs to expect a prolonged ideological/political battle with the Bloc.

Secondly, there are trends outside the Sino-Soviet bloc, especially in highly industrialized areas, which will continue to produce dissidence and "Revisionism" within CP ranks. One of the most important is the continued viability and productivity of the "capitalist system" in the face of Communist predictions of economic doom. This trend has contributed greatly to the gradual decline of Communist appeal and strength in Western Europe and in North America. The persistence of this trend would continue to frustrate CP efforts to gain power, and such frustration, particularly when combined with pressure by the CPSU on a

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particular CP, would be certain to produce battle
fatigue, dissidence, and factionalism. 


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THE LABEL "REVISIONISM"--ITS ORIGIN,
DEVELOPMENT, AND USE AS A POLITICAL WEAPON

An examination of the use of the term Revisionism by the Communists discloses that, from the beginning, the purpose has been to denounce and discredit those who disagree with them. In the Communist view, persons labeled Revisionists are not only devoid of original ideas but are in the same category as evil-doers and traitors.* This linking of Revisionism with other derogatory terms to denounce opponents is done not openly but under the guise and in the name of science, supposedly in defense of "Scientific Socialism".

A. Origin of the Term

The term Revisionism was a neologism coined by the French historical writer Pierre Paul Eugene Tenot (1839-1890), who used

* The term "Revisionism" is used throughout the study in this specialized meaning. However, quotes are not used, in order to avoid distraction. The same is true also in regard to the following allied terms: "Deviation", "Right Deviation", "Right-and National-Deviation", "National Communism", "Opportunism", "Reformism", "Social Democratism", "Anarchism", "Anarcho-Syndicalism", "Liberal Bourgeois Syndicalism", "Liquidationism", and "Treason to Socialism".

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it to describe those political speakers, writers, and activists whose chief or even sole occupation had been to revise the French Constitution not, in Tenot's opinion, for the purpose of improving it or introducing new ideas, but for the sole purpose of presenting a different text. The term Revisionism entered the Socialist-Communist vocabulary for the first time at a congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany held at Stuttgart from 3 to 8 October 1898. Eduard Bernstein, the editor of the Party's newspaper, presented his views on Socialism in a paper read by Bebel, one of the Party's founders. These views were opposed to the dogmatic analysis and interpretation of social and economic developments on the basis of simple quotations from Marx. Bernstein pointed out that actual developments in England and Germany had taken different courses from those prophesied in Marx's Communist Manifesto. He charged that the self-declared followers and students of Marx closed their eyes to new facts and new developments, that they occupied themselves to the exclusion of all else with "revolutionary phraseology", and that they continued to uphold religiously Marx's "theory of catastrophe" befalling the capitalist system despite new data which tended to disprove the validity of this thesis. Regard for the recently deceased Marx was so great among the congress delegates that Bernstein's views calling for an adjustment of Marx's theses to fit new facts met with wild outbursts of criticism and name-calling. The epithet most frequently used was Revisionist,

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and debate of the Bernstein paper ended in a formal resolution condemning Revisionism. A resolution was also proposed for Bernstein's expulsion from the Party on grounds that he was weakening the members' faith in Socialism. However, Karl Kautsky, one of Bernstein's influential critics, defended him, stating that those whose faith in Socialism could be weakened so easily should get out of the Party for the good of the Party. In conclusion Kautsky thanked Bernstein for his paper, saying, "Bernstein did not lead us away from the correct path, but forced us to think, and for this we should be grateful to him."

Subsequently, one of the most fanatical followers of Marx, G. Plekhanov, wrote an open letter to Kautsky which was published in three installments in the Saechsische Arbeiterzeitung, Numbers 253-255, during the period 30 October - 3 November 1898. Plekhanov called Bernstein interchangeably an Opportunist and a Revisionist and criticized Kautsky for his expression of left-handed "gratefulness" to Bernstein. Plekhanov maintained that thanks could have been expressed to Bernstein only if he had brought out something new. Bernstein, according to Plekhanov, was merely trying to present as new that which had been or was being taught by bourgeois

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writers.* He particularly condemned Bernstein's works,** pointing out that if Bernstein's Revisionist views and program were accepted, there would be no reason for the existence of a highly-disciplined militant party pressing for revolution and no need for revolution itself.

* Two such writers were Schulze-Gaevernitz /Zum Sozialen Frieden (Toward Social Peace), Leipzig, 1890, Der Grossbetrieb ein wirtschaftlicher und sozialer Fortschritt (The Big Enterprise, an Economic and Social Progress), Leipzig, 1892/; and Paul-Leroy Beaulieu (Distribution of Wealth and Tendencies Toward Social Equalization, Paris, 1881).

** Particularly Bernstein's article, "Der Kampf der Sozialdemokratie und die Revolution der Gesellschaft" published in Die Neue Zeit, No. 16-18, 1898. In this article Bernstein announced one of his famous Socialist slogans, "The Movement is Everything, the Goal-Nothing." This slogan was later elaborated on in a book called Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie (The Prerequisites of Socialism and the Tasks of Social Democracy), Stuttgart, 1899. Also condemned was a book entitled Social Democratic Struggle and Social Revolution. In the book Bernstein denounced the preoccupation of the Marxists with the final beautiful goal of Socialism-Communism at the expense of fighting for attainable "practical-political" gains for the workers.

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B. Lenin's "Orthodox" Definition of Revisionism

In an article entitled "Marxism and Revisionism,"* published in 1908, Lenin sought to give an authoritative "orthodox" dissertation on Revisionism. Accepting the line on Revisionism taken by Plekhanov in 1898, Lenin largely reiterated and expanded upon Plekhanov's "Open Letter" to Bernstein. Plekhanov himself, however, was later denounced as an Opportunist and, by implication, a Revisionist.** Lenin's method of attacking Revisionism was to present himself as an interpreter of Marx and at the same time an authoritative law-giver--the latter aspect being carefully hidden in his dissertation. His stated objective was to defend Scientific or Marxist Socialism and to disprove Revisionism scientifically. However, Lenin's argumentation began with a simple, unsupported assertion that Revisionism was a trend alien and hostile to the "established" basic principles of "Scientific Socialism". Noteworthy in this assertion is Lenin's postulation of "established" basic principles, but nothing is said as to how

* Marx-Engels Marxism (New York, International Publishers), pp. 71-79.

** See Stalin's History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course (Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950), p. 54.

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and by whom these principles were established. Moreover, these "established" principles, unlike scientific principles generally, are somehow exempt from continuous scientific testing. Lenin thus shifts from his stated scientific investigation of Revisionism to a dogmatic condemnation of it for being contrary to Marxian principles which Lenin transmutes to doctrines.

Having implied that Revisionism is scientifically incorrect, Lenin then passed to a condemnation of it as evil. Actually, Lenin had no other choice than subjective and emotional rejection of Revisionism; for if Marxism-Leninism is a science, then its theses, like those of other sciences, must be subject to continuous testing and revision in accordance with new facts. Revisionism, in the sense of revising for the purpose of improvement, would thus have to be commended, not condemned.

In turning Marx's basic principles or tentative "scientific" theses into doctrines which were to be accepted largely on faith, Lenin effected the transition casually and surreptitiously. For example, as stated by Lenin: "Revisionism did really try to revise the foundation of Marxism, namely, the doctrine of the class struggle." To be noted in this quotation is the claim that the concept of the class struggle is no longer a scientific thesis subject to continuing verification but a firmly-established doctrine, and that Lenin is interested in gaining converts to his own line of reasoning and beliefs rather than in presenting

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evidence that such reasoning and beliefs rest on logic and have been reached scientifically.

Thus Lenin was able to convince some gullible and ultraradical Socialists that there was no discrepancy between the concept of Communism as "Scientific Socialism" and that of Communism as consisting of a set of firmly established doctrines not subject to scientific examination.

C. Stalin's Interpretation of Revisionism

Plekhanov in 1898 and Lenin in 1908 had prepared the ground for Stalin's definition of both Revisionism and true "Scientific Socialism". Stalin proceeded from the position that, if Lenin could convert Marx' tentative theses into doctrines, he, Stalin, could go one step further ("creatively developing Marxism") and make of them untouchable and sacred dogmas. Similarly, if Lenin could popularize the term Revisionism as meaning a violation of basic doctrines, he, Stalin, could extend its meaning to cover violations of all important theses, doctrines, and dogmas. Stalin was not content to apply the Revisionist label only to actual violations of basic and important doctrines; he extended it to cover inclination toward violation, as interpreted by himself. Whereas Lenin as a rule distinguished between Revisionism and other lesser or greater so-called deviations to the right, Stalin lumped all existing terms for right deviation together with Revisionism.

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Moreover, Stalin extended the Revisionist label to cover so-called deviations in any other direction or any disagreement with him and applied labels then new to Communism, such as "Enemy of the People" and "Anti-Party Group". For example, disagreement with Stalin's pronouncement on the aesthetic value of the Russian language was termed Revisionism.

D. Current Orthodox Interpretation of Revisionism in the Anti-Revisionist Campaign

Since the current anti-Revisionist campaign was officially launched in November 1957, numerous articles on Revisionism have appeared in the Communist press. These articles* indicate

* Some of the articles examined are: (1) Soviet: "The Twelve-Party Declaration" (the "main danger at present is revisionism or, in other words, right-wing opportunism..."), Pravda 22 November 1957; "Some Features of Contemporary Revisionism," by T. Timofeyev, Voprosy Istorii KPSS (Problems of CPSU History), No. 1, 1958; "The Struggle of the Fraternal Communist Parties Against Opportunism" ("revisionism or rightist opportunism is...") by D. Shevlyagin, Kommunist, No. 18, 1958; "Against Contemporary Revisionism" by F. Konstantinov, 5 February 1958; "Revisionism--the Main Danger in the Contemporary International Communist Movement" by E. Kuskov, V Pomoshch Politicheskomu Samooobrazovaniyu (In Aid of Political Self-Education), No. 1, 1958; "The Face of Contemporary Revisionism" by A. Butenko, Izvestia, 28 December 1957; (2) Chinese: "Modern Revisionism

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that the CPSU ideologists (such as Suslov, Konstantinov, Shevlyagin, and Aleksandrov) who present the current orthodox line on Marxism-Leninism follow the view of Revisionism originally expressed by Plekhanov and Lenin. But the modern followers are faced with the old dilemma--how logically to accept "Scientific Socialism" and yet to condemn as violators of Marxism-Leninism those who, using accepted scientific methods of verification,

Must Be Criticized", editorial, People's Daily, 5 May 1958; (3) North Viet-Nameese: "Let Us Struggle Against Revisionism," by Quang Dam, Nhan Dan, 7 March 1958; (4) Albanian: "Questions Dealing with Revisionism and Dogmatism" by F. Cami, Rruga e Partise, December 1957; (5) Bulgarian: "Party-Mindedness and Social Science," Novo Vreme, No. 12, 1957; (6) Czechoslovakian: "Revisionism: The Main Danger" by J. Horak, Rude Pravo, 9 January 1958; (7) East German: "What does Revisionism Mean?" by Arndt Bemmman in Neues Deutschland, 8 July 1958; (8) Hungarian: "Error, Deviation, Revisionism, Dogmatism" by G. Kassai, Tarsadalmi Szemle, No. 1, 1958; (9) Rumanian: "Unity--the Key Weapon Against Revisionism," Lupta de Clasa, April 1958. Several Orthodox anti-Revisionist articles appearing in the non-Bloc party press have also been examined, but they appear to be no more than an echo of the Bloc articles listed above and, therefore, are not recorded as basic to this study.

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interpret Marxism-Leninism differently. Like Lenin, they find Revisionism to be evil on the basis of doctrine established by their own authority and then condemn those who disagree with them as Revisionists or violators of Marxism-Leninism itself. Like Lenin, they conceal their claim to be the sole true authority on Marxism-Leninism. For example, they carefully avoid any statement about who determined that the doctrine or "science"* on which Revisionism was founded is basically evil. However, unlike the 1908 era, when Lenin's authority in the international Socialist movement depended upon his eminence as a theoretician, orthodox interpreters today represent the views of the CPSU; and these views are backed by the power and authority of the Soviet State. In attempting to mask this background of power and to condemn those who disagree with them as Revisionists or violators of Marxism-Leninism, orthodox interpreters resort to several Leninist techniques. The three most important of these

* The closest the orthodox Communists come to admitting that Communism today is not a science but a body of dogma is found in a reference to Communism as an "infallible theory" and a "flawless philosophy". Cf. G. Glezerman, "The General and Particular in Historical Development", Kommunist, No. 14/15, 1957.

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techniques are discussed in some detail in the following paragraphs.

1. Purposeful Misdirection. This technique calls for the diversion of a reader's or listener's attention from the essence of the subject which is under discussion. In denouncing certain theories as un-Marxist, and therefore incorrect, Lenin and his successors carefully lead the reader away from what is really at stake. They present the view that certain theories, theses, and tenets can have only "one correct interpretation". Yet they carefully avoid showing that the claim to one correct interpretation means that there can be only one correct and true interpreter: Lenin and, subsequently, the Soviet Communist Party. Those who disagree with the CPSU as to the meaning of Marxism-Leninism are cited as holding not merely different views but incorrect and un-Marxist-Leninist views. They are characterized not as dissidents or non-conformists who question only the Soviet interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, but as Deviationists and Revisionists. In denouncing Revisionism, the Soviets picture the concept of Marxism-Leninism as having life of its own, something like Schopenhauer's "the-thing-in-itself": i.e., some mysterious force which is definite, potent, and persistent, although unrelated to either the human body or the human intellect. Thus, the Soviets would

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have the world believe not that Marxism-Leninism is and means what the Soviets make it but that in some mysterious way it is what it is. They would have people believe that Marxism-Leninism is not being interpreted by them in the way that suits their interest but that through some mysterious powers granted only to them they can see Marxism-Leninism as it is, i.e., "Marxism-Leninism-in-itself". The very choice of the word Revisionism in describing the independent, rebellious, and nonconformist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism is calculated to mislead, to direct attention toward "Marxism-Leninism-in-itself" and away from the concealed CPSU claim that it alone can determine what is and what is not true Marxism-Leninism. Should this deliberate Soviet misdirection be accepted, one would also have to accept the Soviet proposition that Revisionists are persons who violate an established law which, like a law of nature, is operative regardless of any human factor and which any realistic man has to recognize and accept unconditionally. Denial of the Soviet-defined Marxist-Leninist truth is, according to this proposition, as devastating as the non-acceptance of the nutritive value of food or the nonrecognition of the poisonous nature of cyanide. The Revisionist Tito is thus pictured as a person who refuses to eat wholesome Marxist-Leninist food, who subsists on bourgeois poison, and whose doom is therefore sealed.

The technique of misdirection is also evident in the orthodox Communist practice of fighting

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every kind of opposition on the ideological level although in reality the opposition arises out of economic problems, political interests, or organizational matters. Slapping the Revisionist (i. e., ideological) label on opposition arising out of matters which have nothing to do with ideology effectively leads the observer away from that which the Soviet Union (and/or China) would not dare to feature publicly (the self-interest of the Soviet Union as a world power) and toward that which the Soviet Union can proudly espouse: unselfish and noble defense of Socialist science, dialectical truth, world peace, universal progress. A good example of this technique is the Soviet propaganda treatment of the U.S. economic aid program for Yugoslavia. Clearly it would not do for the Soviets to announce their real reason for opposition: the fact that this aid does not serve the interest of the Soviet state because it makes Yugoslavia economically independent of the Soviet Union. Presenting this aid, instead, as one point of evidence designed to demonstrate that the Yugoslav Communists put an incorrect and Revisionist interpretation on basic Marxist-Leninist principles (in this case on the principle of international solidarity of Socialist forces) allows the Soviets to denounce Yugoslavia and its acceptance of U.S. aid with the voice of an unselfish defender of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and transforms the independent-minded Yugoslavia into an erring and deformed Socialist country.

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2. Use of Broad Terms in Denouncing Revisionism. In order to denounce and discredit an undesirable trend, such as Revisionism, Communists always brand it as a violation of a much broader concept containing this trend. Thus, although Revisionists may question only certain orthodox interpretations of Marxism-Leninism, they are pictured as violating the whole of Marxism-Leninism: the Marxist-Leninist world view, Marxist-Leninist methodology, Marxist-Leninist scientific theses, tentative tenets, set doctrines, sacred dogmas, and the practical application of these theses, tenets, doctrines, and dogmas. The Communist technique in condemning Revisionism is to operate within the broadest possible meaning of a concept and then to shift subtly from one aspect of this concept to another. For example, although in one place in an anti-Revisionist article Marxism-Leninism is pictured as Scientific Socialism, in another part of the same article the term 'Marxism-Leninism' suddenly acquires an entirely different meaning. It no longer stands for scientific theses but for crystallized doctrines which are not subject to re-examination or modification on the strength of new facts. This tactic is particularly evident in Lenin's 1908 article "Marxism and Revisionism". Lenin speaks in one place of Marxism which "struggled with theories which were fundamentally hostile to it"; in another place of Marxism which "is already absolutely

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victorious over all other ideologies in the labor movement"; and in still another place of Marxism the foundation of which is "the doctrine of the class struggle". Thus, in these three instances Marxism is referred to as a scientific theory (tentative in nature and subject to either partial or total rejection should new data require it), as a political ideology (firmly adhered to but put aside, usually temporarily, whenever different political goals are decided upon), and as a firm dogma (a sacred and untouchable basis on which rests the ultimate justification of the whole Communist cause). It can therefore be readily seen how a term conceived so broadly and containing such contradictions can be manipulated in argumentation with those who, reasoning more logically, are unable to integrate the various contradictory meanings of the term into a unified intelligible whole.

3. Guilt by Association. In order to attack and to discredit a person as a foul Revisionist, the orthodox often conduct a secret examination of his possible connection with selected persons, either dead or old and discredited. Once some connection (not necessarily relevant to the case) is uncovered between the person singled out for

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the denunciation and a given number of already discredited or defenseless persons, the latter are openly charged with sponsoring Revisionism. At this stage "scientific" and overt examination is made to "discover" who is at present the exponent of views once held by the discredited individuals. A dramatic exposure of connecting lines from these discredited persons to the target is then made. It is obvious and only natural (to the orthodox Communist) that the target, who is connected with not one but several Revisionist-minded persons, must himself be a Revisionist, and that therefore whatever he stands for and whatever he writes and says must be branded as Revisionism. The method makes it possible to brand a person as a Revisionist without even examining his writings.

E. Current Use of the Revisionist Label

A review of representative orthodox Communist articles on Revisionism indicates that Khrushchev and the orthodox ideologists (with the exception of the Chinese Stalinists) do not use the term Revisionism quite as indiscriminately as Stalin did. Generally a formal and Lenin-like distinction is made by the current CPSU leaders between Revisionism and other labels for so-called deviations to the right. The more important labels covering such so-called deviations to the right can be arrayed on a graduated scale according to the degree of displeasure which the CPSU desires to indicate regarding the individual disagreeing with its view.

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These terms, ranging from indications of mild to extreme displeasure, are: (a) Right Deviation, (b) National Deviation or Right National Deviation, (c) Revisionism, Opportunism, Reformism, Social Democratism, (d) Liquidationism, and (e) Treason. Another factor governing CPSU and orthodox usage of these and other terms is, of course, their applicability to the given situation, i.e., the particular view or activity which displeases the Soviets; the dissenter's job, nationality, and ideological education; and whether he is in or outside the Bloc. That such a differentiation is merely formal is substantiated by the Soviet practice of one day terming a given Titoist position Right Deviationism and subsequently dubbing the same position Revisionism or by any of the other labels. Moreover, the Soviets themselves tacitly admit that there is little or no difference between Revisionism and other labels for so-called right deviations. In a book entitled V. I. Lenin Against Revisionism, which was reviewed in the 14 April 1958 issue of Pravda, the reviewer lists under the heading of Revisionism all the usual so-called right deviations and includes even Anarcho-Syndicalism, which is not normally so designated.

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II

THE ESSENCE OF REVISIONISM AND
CHARACTERISTICS OF REVISIONISTS

A. The Essential Characteristic of Revisionism

1. There is one ever-present, common factor in the whole Revisionist trend: rebellion against authoritarian dictation by a single center, most specifically the CPSU and the Soviet State. (The frequently repeated thesis that the Chinese CP and Mao Tse-tung are becoming the ideological leaders in the ICM is as of the date of this study still a speculation. Presently the Chinese Communists still emphasize publicly the leading role of the Soviet CP and of the Soviet government.) In accordance with this observation, Revisionism is in its essence a challenge of the privileged Soviet State and Soviet Party authority within and over the ICM.*

* This is one of several views on the essence of Revisionism and on trends closely allied to it, views which are valid and acceptable. The above view can, for instance, be acceptably expressed in positive terms. It would then read more or less as follows: Revisionism is a conscious and firm demand for actual equality of each member party within the ICM regarding the interpretation and application of Marxism-Leninism.

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2. Several significant points should be noted in connection with the above identification of Revisionism.

First, neither the whole body of the "Marxist-Leninist doctrine" nor its most important "basic principles" are the central or even significant issue in the orthodox Communist struggle against Revisionism. This observation is true despite the orthodox claim that the only reason Revisionism is denounced is that it violates these doctrines and principles. For if we distinguish between Revisionists and outright Communist apostates (i.e., defectors), Revisionists in a body accept Marxism-Leninism and its chief theses as their philosophy; indeed, the main Revisionist charge against orthodoxy is that it is

Another acceptable view of Revisionism notes that in its essence Revisionism has to do with discipline, that it is an insubordination (on the international level) with respect to the arrogated authority of the CPSU and (on the national level) with respect to the excessive and arbitrary authority of Party leaders, central organs of the Party, lower organs, cell leaders. Still other viewpoints disclose that Revisionism is (1) a fight for more freedom within the ICM and within national parties, (2) a stress on the democratic concept of the principle of "democratic centralism", or (3) an insistence that true "international workers' solidarity" (or true "proletarian internationalism") can be attained only among equals who are free to express and to apply their own views and their own ideas.

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orthodoxy itself which violates Marxism-Leninism and its meaning and "true spirit". It is evident that any number of "basic principles" may be ascribed to the term Marxism-Leninism, like such other abstract concepts as Socialism or Democracy. Such "basic principles" are subject to a great many definitions and interpretations and to countless ways and means of practical application. Lenin and his successors have been attempting, however, for more than half a century to sell the world the notion that (1) Marxism-Leninism is uniquely definite, (2) that it consists of a specific number of basic principles, and (3) that these principles have only one correct interpretation and application. Actually, as noted briefly in Part I, this argument provides a pretext for the Soviets to claim that Marxism-Leninism can mean only what they say it means, that its basic principles are only what they say they are, and that only the CPSU can correctly interpret and apply these basic principles.

Acceptance of the Soviet viewpoint on the essence of the orthodox-Revisionist controversy is fairly general even in the non-Communist world and stems apparently from the efficacy of orthodox Communist propaganda. Another factor is that whereas the dissident Communists are subjected to massive orthodox propaganda branding them as Revisionists, they usually are not given any substantial assistance by non-Communists in maintaining their position vis-a-vis the orthodox Communists. There may be two reasons

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for the general non-Communist aversion to assisting the Revisionists. First, Revisionists are still Communists, and the general trend in the West is to attack Communism in its entirety (including its Revisionist manifestations). Secondly, there is an inclination on the part of some non-Communist students of Communism to accept the orthodox definition of ideological deviations. This attitude appears to rest on the view that since such deviations are Communist, only the orthodox Communists can tell us what they really mean.

Revisionists,* although accepting the broad concept of Marxism-Leninism and the general basic principles, attempt to interpret and apply Marxism-Leninism in their own way. Because they incline toward independent thinking, their view of Marxism-Leninism may be different from the Soviet interpretation and application, although it does not necessarily have to be different, nor need it differ in all points.

Secondly, Revisionism does not question the right of the Soviets to their own interpretation and application of the "socialist science". What Revisionism challenges is the Soviet insistence upon exclusive right to interpret and apply Marxism-Leninism

* It should be understood by the reader that in writing "Revisionists accept..." and "Revisionists state..." the accepted literary use of a general term is intended; such expressions do not necessarily refer to all Revisionists, but to many, or some, for the most part.

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correctly for the whole ICM. The Revisionist challenge to the Soviet authority is not an aggressive act; it is a simple insistence that all persons and all parties in the ICM should be truly equal; it is a denial of the proposition that the Soviet Party is "more equal" than other Communist parties; it is a rebellion against the Soviet demand that the Soviet Party and the Soviet State be granted a "leading role" or the right to discipline those in the ICM who do not follow the Soviet lead.

Thirdly, Revisionists view the ICM as a fraternal association of equal parties bound by common basic ideological principles and doctrines, wherein each party is free to apply these principles as it sees fit. They reject the Soviet view that the ICM must be an organized and highly disciplined political, economic, paramilitary, and conspiratorial force in which the Soviets play the "leading /i.e., controlling/ role". From the Revisionist viewpoint, acceptance of this Soviet concept is tantamount to recognizing that the ICM is an International Communist Party with the CPSU as its Central Committee and the Soviet First Secretary as its Secretary General, and that the CPSU, as the general staff of the ICM, is entitled to discipline any Communist "soldier", start campaigns, conclude treaties with the enemy -- all in its own right and on its own responsibility. Revisionism does not even attempt to revise this view, but simply rejects it on the grounds that it is a Stalinist deformation of Marxism-Leninism.

Fourthly, as previously noted, there is little practical (operational) difference between Revisionism

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and other derogatory terms applied by the CPSU and orthodox Communists to those who challenge their interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. In declaring Revisionism to be evil and a violation of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU and supporting orthodox Communists are in effect asking acceptance of this view on faith. They subsequently present their declaration as an established principle, and Communists who disagree with the Soviet interpretation of Marxism-Leninism are characterized as Revisionists. It follows that, because those who disagree are Revisionists and Revisionists are evil, the CPSU must exclude them from the congregation of believers, as was done, for instance, with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1948, when it was declared to be "outside the family of the fraternal Communist Parties."*

Finally, the Soviet-propagated and generally-held view (even among non-Communists) that Revisionism of necessity attacks Marxism-Leninism must be rejected unequivocally. The record of Tito serves to illustrate this point. Tito affirms Marxism-Leninism and rejects none of its basic principles as such. He certainly does not reject the two basic control principles, namely democratic centralism and dictatorship of the proletariat, which Soviet and pro-Soviet propaganda single out as the most important. The expulsion of Djilas

* The Soviet-Yugoslav Controversy, 1948-1958. A Documentary Record (New York, Prospect Books, 1959), page 45.

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from the LCY and his subsequent jailing, as well as the overwhelming evidence that the Party-controlled Yugoslav state will not tolerate any organized political opposition to its authority, attest to Tito's belief in and application of these two basic principles. Yet Tito was denounced by the Soviets in 1959, as in 1948, for practicing "out-and-out Revisionism".

B. Orthodox Struggle Against Revisionism Under Other Labels

Although "Revisionism" is currently the main epithet hurled by the CPSU and orthodox Communists at any Communist challenging the privileged Soviet authority in the ICM, other labels may be used to indicate the degree of Soviet displeasure over a dissenting view or activity and also to fit the specific circumstances in which the dissent took place. There is an almost inexhaustible number of variant labels which have been used once or which may be invented. But except for those already listed, these variants appear to be short-lived or only rarely used. Examples of these ephemeral labels are "Khvostism" (or "tailism") used during the Stalin era but not now, and "populism", used in Hungary and at times in Czechoslovakia but seemingly not anywhere else.

How the Soviets use five of the most common labels and relate them to Revisionism is here set forth.

1. Revisionism Fought under the Label of Opportunism. These two labels have been used interchangeably ever since the term Revisionism was introduced sixty years ago. Plekhanov, Lenin,

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and Stalin -- and the CPSU in the 1957 "Twelve-Party Declaration" -- stated that the main danger was Revisionism, which was equated to Right-Wing Opportunism.* In Kommunist No. 18 of 1957, CPSU spokesman D. Shevlyagin in an article entitled "The Struggle of the Fraternal Communist Parties Against Opportunism" again equates Revisionism with Rightist Opportunism. Soviet usage of the two terms does, however, indicate a slight semantic nuance. A Revisionist challenges Soviet ideological and political authority on grounds that the Soviets do not take into account new facts in regard to the social, political, and economic developments in the world (both in the Sino-Soviet bloc and in the West) which have been brought to light after Marx' and Lenin's death. An Opportunist, on the other hand, challenges Soviet political authority on grounds that it continues to point to the distant final blessings of perfected Communism and neglects to utilize the present opportunity for immediate improvement of the lot of the workers.

* See Plekhanov's "Open Letter" to Kautsky of 1898; Lenin's article of 1908 on Marxism and Revisionism; Stalin's article of 1938 on philosophical and economic Revisionism contained in History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Short Course, pp. 126-127; and the "Twelve-Party Declaration" as published in Pravda on 22 November 1957.

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2. Revisionism Fought under the Label of Reformism or Social Democratism. The struggle against Revisionism within the Sino-Soviet bloc is also synonymous with the struggle against Reformism, or Social Democratism. A challenger of Soviet authority in the ICM in his role as a critic of the bleak realities under the dictatorship of the proletariat is called a Revisionist. As soon as he begins to point out possible methods of improving the situation, he would be more correctly labelled a Reformist or a Social Democratist. Because all responsible critics also offer a positive program for improving the situation, probably even in the same speech or in the same article, a Revisionist is at the same time also a Reformist. Under the existing situation in the Bloc, Revisionist critics often are not afforded an opportunity to come out with a positive program and, therefore, never "graduate" to the title of Reformists.

Outside the Bloc the term Reformist is used more frequently than within the Bloc. Non-Bloc CP's are not inclined to criticize the Soviet system but, in efforts to gain support, often call for reform of the capitalist system, i.e., measures which would improve the lot of the worker. However, propagation of a reform program within a non-Communist-controlled system, originally conceived as desirable for tactical reasons, may over a longer period of time tend to become the main and the sole objective of such a CP. Such an attitude is Reformism and is denounced by the Soviets under this label. During the present period

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of massive propaganda against Revisionism, however, a Reformist tendency in the West may still be fought under the general label of Revisionism.

3. Revisionism Fought under the Label of National Deviation or National Communism. The challenge to Soviet authority may at times arise because the patriotic concern of a Communist for his own nation and its culture causes him to object to Soviet dictation and to the arbitrary transplanting of all features of the Soviet system to his country. Such an individual is denounced by the CPSU as a National Deviationist or National Communist.* But a National Deviationist would naturally be simultaneously a Revisionist in his criticism of the Soviet and Soviet-sponsored system and a Reformist and Opportunist in the positive program with which he proposes to displace the system patterned on the Soviet model.

4. Revisionism Fought under the Label of Anarchism, Anarcho-Syndicalism, or Liberal Bourgeois Anarchism. Whenever the challenge to

* The term National Communism is rarely used by the Communists; it was coined not by them but in anti-Communist circles. Whenever Communists use this term, they always put it in quotes in order to indicate that it is a label. Communism is supposed to be an international concept by its very nature; Communism is supposed to solve all national questions, to eliminate nationalism.

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Soviet authority involves a critical (Revisionist) appraisal of Soviet policy for using the trade unions only as transmission belts for Party orders, rather than giving them real economic and political power, the challenger is denounced generally as an Anarchist, or more specifically as an Anarcho-Syndicalist. If the challenger calls for increasing worker participation in the administration of the nationalized economy at the expense of the Party organs or if he insists that the trade union, rather than the Party, is the chief instrument for introducing or building socialism, he is again generally labeled an Anarcho-Syndicalist or a Liberal Bourgeois Anarchist. However, during a period of massive propaganda against Revisionism, such as the present, the over-all label for such a trend is Revisionism.

5. Circumstances in which Revisionism is Fought under the Label of Either Simple Deviation or Liquidationism and Treason-to-Socialism. Normally neither simple Deviation nor its extreme forms -- Liquidationism and Treason-to-Socialism -- are used interchangeably with Revisionism. However, during a particularly bitter campaign against Revisionism, all niceties of distinction between it and the very mild and very indirect challenge to the Soviets -- Deviation -- are lost. The danger of deviation is equated with Deviationism, Deviationism becomes a trend toward Revisionism, and finally a trend toward Revisionism becomes Revisionism itself. Similarly, Revisionism is equated with the danger of Liquidationism, and finally with Treason-to Socialism. At other times - - for instance between

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1955 and October 1956 -- great effort is made to differentiate between a simple misguided and misinformed Deviationist and the conscious, stubborn, and arrogant Revisionist. Similarly, under normal circumstances, a Revisionist usually is not charged with total repudiation of the value and achievements of Marxism-Leninism (Liquidationism) or with a conscious betrayal of the Socialist cause (Treason-to-Socialism).

C. Revisionist versus Orthodox Interpretation of Marxist-Leninist Ideology.

The difference between the Revisionist ideological position and the orthodox interpretation of Marxist-Leninist ideology stems from a different concept of the essence of "Socialism" and from a different general approach to the interpretation of Marxism-Leninism.

1. The Orthodox or Soviet Approach to Interpreting Marxism-Leninism. The orthodox or Soviet guide-line to the interpretation of each specific Marxist-Leninist tenet and to the application of each tenet to current problems rests on a principle which has not been designated specifically as a Marxist-Leninist principle -- the "leading role of the Soviet Union". In accordance with this principle

a. there must be only one correct interpretation and application of basic Marxist-Leninist tenets, and that can be true only if there is only one center, the CPSU and the USSR;

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b. interpretations differing from those made by the Soviets are incorrect because they cause disunity in the ICM and in the Sino-Soviet bloc, undermine the strength and international authority of the Soviet Union which is the political-economical-military bastion of the ICM, and wittingly or unwittingly give aid or comfort to the ICM (and Soviet) enemy.

It follows that to be today a "correct" and non-Revisionist Marxist a Communist must not only subscribe to those Marxist-Leninist doctrines which are generally accepted as "basic principles"* but must first accept the Stalinist principle of the leading role of the CPSU** or, more correctly, of the head of the CPSU--a principle which Stalin's post-mortem denigration did not destroy or

* Such as primacy of matter; primacy of the economic base; existence of an antagonistic class struggle which demands the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the suppression of the "enemies of Socialism" and for provision of central economic planning; adoption of the organizational principle of democratic centralism which alone can enable the Party to establish and to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat.

** Pravda of 1 October 1958 in discussing the value of Stalin's doctrinal contribution in his Short History of the CPSU states, "Only those are true proletarian internationalists... who unconditionally uphold and defend the USSR...."

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weaken.* It is a principle unknown to either Marx or Lenin, and it is not only challenged but totally rejected by Revisionists. The leadership of Marx and Lenin was of an entirely different nature from that of Stalin or of the current ICM leaders. They were satisfied with their de facto status and, unlike Stalin and his successors, did not demand for themselves a de jure recognition--a demand clearly made in the Twelve-Party Declaration. Also, in exercising their leadership they relied on qualities other than the physical and economic power available to rulers of a country.

2. The Revisionist Guiding Principles for Interpreting Marxism-Leninism. The Revisionist guiding principles in the interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, on the other hand, de-emphasize the

* The Twelve-Party Declaration of November 1957, the objective of which was to separate "true" Marxist-Leninists from the Revisionists, demands of all Marxist-Leninist parties the "banning of factions and groups sapping unity" of the "Socialist Camp", which is "headed /and led/ by the Soviet Union". Such Marxist-Leninist parties are obligated to "support the Soviet Union" and to combat Revisionism as the "main danger" to the ICM (Pravda, 22 November 1957). The 21st CPSU Congress--in its secret proceedings--modified this position only to the extent that overt references to the leading role of the Soviet party government are to be omitted in Communist literature, apparently in order to neutralize anti-Communist propaganda.

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mechanics of building Socialism and stress its goals. The preoccupation and infatuation of the Revisionists with noble Socialist goals is, however, so all-encompassing and so passionate that it exposes them to the possibly justifiable charge of pretentiousness, self-righteousness, and utopianism. Revisionism does, however, show at least some genuine concern for man, the builder and future occupant of the Socialist edifice. Therefore, in the common Revisionist opinion,* any specific Marxist-Leninist tenet is to be interpreted so that the Socialism which alone is worth fighting for should be:

a. creative and scientific, i.e., a Socialism subject to such modifications as new data demand, a Socialism which can also be a guide for a rational explanation of new data;

* It should be clearly understood that any positive evaluation of Revisionist positions here is measured not against the generally-accepted non-Communist standards but against the standard of Communist orthodoxy. If Revisionism is stated, for instance, to be "democratic", it means that it appears so only against the background of the orthodox totalitarianism. And in our acceptance of the Revisionist claim to "scientific" attitude we grant only that the Revisionists are just a bit less dogmatic than the orthodox and that they have at least some scientific inclinations in the field of sociology. This acceptance does not mean, however, that we recognize Revisionist sociology as a genuine science.

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b. humanistic and democratic, i.e., a Socialism which is not measured by the amount of goods or number of machines produced, but which appeals to man, which improves his existence and his relations with other men, and which guarantees him as an individual and as a member of his own family, his own culture and his own nation/ the ultimate in justice, in social and economic equality, and a steadily increasing measure of political freedom;

c. peaceful and fraternal, i.e., a Socialism actively engaged in the elimination of the causes of war and in the promotion of principles in international relations which are conducive to a peaceful solution of all problems arising between individual nations; and,

d. real and realizable, i.e., a Socialism not limited to declarations, slogans, and promises of long-range benefits.

It should be noted in regard to the above beautiful objectives describing the Revisionist concept of Socialism that Revisionist practice, like orthodox practice, will not always correspond to theory, and never completely. Thus, Revisionist Tito allows little science in the LCY ideology and little real democracy in his Socialist State; the reality and realizability of the LCY program outlined at the 7th Congress is also debatable. The Trotskyite's lack of particular concern for humanism or for world peace is quite evident.

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The Revisionists' claim to the above noble-sounding principles is less part of their ideological creed than a sloganistic expression of their human qualities, their aspirations, and wishful thinking.

It is evident that, given the two different general attitudes toward Marxism-Leninism, conflicting interpretations of many of the Marxist-Leninist tenets result, as well as different views as to how these tenets should be applied. But, from an unbiased point of view, there is no reason to consider either the orthodox or the Revisionist interpretation as a greater revision of Marxism-Leninism than the other. Each is from the viewpoint of logic or historical fact as much or as little entitled to call itself Marxist-Leninist, and each can produce an equal number of quotations from Marx and Lenin to prove that it alone represents "true" Marxism-Leninism and that the other is Revisionist. An objective view would probably allow the Revisionist claim that their attitude toward Marxist Socialism (and, by extension, toward Marxism-Leninism) is closer to the original position of Marx and Engels and that the orthodox Communist view of Socialism and of Marxism-Leninism is closer to Stalin's outlook.

3. The Revisionist Attitude on the Principal Ideological Concepts of the ICM. Although Revisionists challenge the orthodox interpretation and application of Marxism-Leninism, they have no unified positive view of their own and do not constitute an integrated international movement with a clear and detailed program. This stems

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from the fact that the Revisionists are highly independent and--in opposition to the organizationally-minded doctrinaire Communists--call for inquiry, questioning, and testing along "scientific" lines and for individual freedom in interpreting the Marxist-Leninist tenets. The only semi-integrated current Revisionist views are those of Trotskyites, * Titoists, and Gomulkaistes. From these views and from the views of more important past and present

* Although Trotskyism is included here among Right Deviationist and Revisionist trends, this concept holds true only in regard to Trotskyism as it has developed since the Cominform expulsion of Tito. Prior to that time Trotsky himself and the Trotskyites generally vehemently insisted--probably with some justification--that they were part of the "left opposition" to Stalinism (cf., for example, The History of American Trotskyism by James P. Cannon, New York, Pioneer Publishers, 1944). Examination of the current Trotskyite literature particularly of the 4th International, and specifically of its assessment of the Titoist program adopted by the 7th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (4th International, Amsterdam, Spring 1958) shows that today's Trotskyites fall into the general category of right Revisionists. For the reason stated above Trotsky himself is however not listed as an established Revisionist authority.

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Revisionists, such as Bernstein, Kautsky, Millerand, Bukharin, Djilas, Kolakowski, Nagy, Lukacs, Harich, Giolitti, Levy, E. P. Thompson, Sartre, Lefebvre, Barata, Clark, and Fast, it is possible to arrive at a composite picture of what Revisionism stands for generally.

In viewing Revisionism (which can be brought out only in juxtaposition with the orthodox beliefs and programs) care must be taken not to ascribe absolute values to the Revisionist views. The apparent Revisionist freshness of outlook and its inclination toward scientific, liberal, and democratic concepts are not fresh, scientific, liberal, or democratic in the absolute sense; they appear thus only in comparison with the dogmatic, narrow, and non-democratic concepts, attitudes, and practices of the Communist orthodoxy shaped by Stalin.

The Revisionist attitude toward some of the more important Socialist-Communist topics is as follows.

a. Over-all Marxist-Leninist Ideology. Revisionists insist that Marxism-Leninism must be a science ("Scientific Socialism"), and therefore insist that the tenets, theses or principles of Marxism-Leninism cannot be allowed to harden with time into rigid doctrines and untouchable dogmas. As a living science Marxism-Leninism has to continue to be developed creatively--or revised--with all its tenets subject to

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adjustment, modification, or even abandonment if new facts and developments require it. An example is Marx's theory concerning the progressive pauperization of the workers. This theory has been proved by statistics derived from later developments to be incorrect and should, therefore, be discarded. Revisionists believe that such an abandonment not only does not violate Marxism but is in accordance with a sound and scientific Marxist attitude.

The Soviets and all orthodox Communists also subscribe to the creative development and adjustment of Communist tenets to "life". Their practical attitude, however, gives the lie to this formal claim. Moreover, the orthodox claim is effectively canceled by the contradictory current assertion that Marxism-Leninism is an "infallible theory" and a "flawless philosophy."

b. International Workers' Solidarity. Revisionists observe that solidarity cannot be demanded or enforced. It must be based on the principle of a voluntary feeling of unity, the voluntary recognition of a community of interests, and the actual practice of equality of all ICM members. International workers' solidarity attained through force and domination by one strong member (the Soviet Union) is an un-Socialist practice and smacks of great-power chauvinism and imperialism. The essence of international workers' solidarity

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consists of the extension of aid and assistance by a stronger and richer member to the smaller and less developed fraternal nations (or parties). Solidarity does not require uniformity or conformity. Non-Soviet Socialist systems need not, and indeed should not, slavishly pattern themselves on the Soviet model. Rather Socialist forms and practices should be developed to fit the local conditions resulting from each country's particular cultural and historical background.

c. Methods and Forms of Building Socialism. Revisionists assert that there are many methods and forms of building Socialism. In countries where there is no democratic tradition and democratic freedoms are almost totally suppressed, Revisionists accept the thesis that without a violent revolution Socialism cannot start to develop. The minimum objective of such a revolution must be twofold--elimination of foreign domination and the introduction of a generally democratic type of government. However, the subsequent building of Socialism should go hand-in-hand with the ever-expanding collective rights of the workers, which should be passed down from the central administrative levels to lower echelons and finally to the individual worker-citizen.

Revisionists are inclined to believe that countries with a democratic tradition build some Socialism even in the absence of either Communist or Socialist parties. It is built,

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even if slowly, because only Socialist solutions can satisfactorily and permanently solve problems arising in the modern, overpopulated, and atom-threatened world. The instruments of Socialism in countries without Socialist or Communist parties are the labor unions and the increasingly centralized state. The state in many capitalist countries no longer represents only the class interests of the bourgeoisie; it is coming to represent more and more impartially the interests of all its citizens. No foreign power and no foreign organization or association should interfere with the native forms of Socialism developing in these countries. The only proper Socialist form and the only correct road to Socialism in each country is the form evolved and the road taken by the most democratic and progressive indigenous forces. The more divergent Socialist forms there are in the world, the richer will be the content of international Socialism. Uniformity is thus neither needed nor desirable.

d. Nationalization and Socialism. Revisionists emphasize that, although nationalization of the main means of production and of the chief natural resources is necessary, nationalization does not automatically introduce Socialism. Nationalization may only encourage Socialism and is, at best, only the lowest form of the socialization process. Nationalization, when viewed as a final goal of Socialism, leads to the development of

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Statism rather than Socialism, both in capitalist countries and in countries under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In fact, in Socialist countries where nationalization is considered to be the end product of Socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat itself degenerates into a dictatorship of bureaucracy. There is in such countries a good chance that a new powerful class--the bureaucrats--will arise and exploit the workers as mercilessly as they were exploited under classical (19th century) capitalism. Nationalization, therefore, must lead to socialization, i.e., the introduction of Socialist relations. It should be noted, however, that these Socialist relations have not been specifically identified by any known Revisionist beyond the appraisal of them as good and desirable. They are to be based somehow on each worker's concern both for the welfare of all other workers and for the welfare of society as a whole. Entirely unstated is the method of inducing such a feeling in each individual worker and the motivating force which is to generate the development of the necessary and desirable "Socialist consciousness".

e. Contemporary World Situation. Revisionists maintain that the present division of the world into two geographically identifiable exclusive and antagonistic power blocs is not only not conducive to world peace but will inevitably result in World War III. Relations between capitalist and socialist countries should

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be governed by the principle of "peaceful, active coexistence."* In accordance with this principle both blocs should be denounced for endangering peace and economic and social progress. "True lovers of peace," "true Socialists," and "true Marxist-Leninists" must not join either of the blocs. However, as long as these blocs exist, it is better to have them balanced and thus in a sense neutralized. Thus, both the Warsaw and the NATO pacts should be liquidated, but it is dangerous to liquidate only one of them or to weaken one of them at the expense of the other. The two main forces in the world, Socialism and Capitalism, are not distinguishable solely as two existing power blocs but are present in various forms throughout the world.

It should be noted that this principle of "peaceful, active coexistence," particularly widely publicized by Titoist Yugoslavia, is a Revisionist extension of the Leninist-Stalinist principle of "peaceful coexistence."

- * This Titoist principle of active and straightforward effort on the part of every Communist, Socialist, Liberal and Progressive is to be distinguished from its Stalinist counterpart, "peaceful coexistence". The latter is only an empty slogan which supports the Soviet-controlled tool of Soviet State policy, the World Peace Movement, and other maneuvers aiming at "peaceful" penetration of the non-Communist world.

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The latter principle was designed to give the Soviet Union during its period of encirclement by a hostile world a breathing spell and a chance to consolidate the Party's power within the country and the new state's power on the international arena. Having found this slogan useful in concealing the aggressive nature of Communism, Stalin and his successors continued to use it as an ideological foundation for the various tools of Soviet foreign policy, such as the World Peace Movement and other Communist international organizations. Without trying to pass judgment as to whether the Revisionists honestly believe in coexisting peacefully with the non-Communist countries, it is probably safe to say that the Revisionists are inclined to consider such an attitude to be a principle rather than merely a useful but otherwise empty slogan, as do the orthodox Communists.

f. Attitude toward the Chief Basic Marxist-Leninist Principles. It should be pointed out that use of the word "doctrine" is generally avoided by Revisionists. When the word is used by them, it is in the sense of a general guiding principle and never in the sense of an absolute untouchable dogma. Nevertheless, the chief principles commonly accepted as basic to Marxism-Leninism are not challenged by Revisionists, although their interpretation of some of them usually differs from the orthodox Soviet interpretation. The Revisionist attitude toward the basic Marxist-Leninist

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doctrines is as follows.

(1) Dialectical Materialism. Although accused of being influenced by "idealism", "fideism", "positivism", "existentialism", and "empiricism", and therefore violating dialectical materialism, Revisionists appear to be innocent of this charge. If, as Engels states and Lenin accepts, there are only two philosophical camps, "the camp of idealism" and "the various schools of materialism,"* then Revisionists belong among the latter, for they regard material nature and existence as primary to man's thought and spiritual nature. If a dialectician is one who accepts the tenet that "all development is the 'struggle' of opposites,"** then Revisionists are dialecticians, for they believe in the employment of the dialectical method of studying the phenomena of nature.

(2) Historical Materialism. Revisionists are often accused groundlessly of violating historical materialism because of an alleged belief in "idealism", "fideism", etc. Like Marx, Revisionists believe that the principle of dialectical materialism should be extended

* Cf. V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 15.

** Cf. V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.

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to apply to human society and to its history, and that the economic base determines the "legal and political superstructure" of society and the "social, political and intellectual life processes in general."*

(3) Antagonistic Class Struggle Necessitating the Establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Revisionists are also often accused, on grounds of "idealism", etc., of violating the principle of the antagonistic class struggle which demands the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Although accepting this principle as such, they insist that the dictatorship of the proletariat should be maintained for the purpose of suppressing the exploitation of man by man, preventing the few from exploiting the labor of the working majority, preventing the bourgeoisie from setting up a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, effecting rational planning and a just distribution of the fruits of production. The best known and most vocal Revisionists do not accept the Stalinist interpretation that dictatorship of the proletariat means a highly centralized

* Cf. V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 18.

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government exclusively in the hands of a "narrow" Party.* Such a concept, claim the Revisionists, constitutes rule by a chosen elite and is a Platonic rather than a Marxist concept of government. They also claim that the narrow Party concept, expressed originally by Lenin, was meant to apply only during the period prior to the seizure of power and during the process of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, not after it had been successfully established.

(4) Democratic Centralism. Finally, Revisionists are often accused of violating the principle of democratic centralism. However, they accept this Leninist organizational principle (the minority bowing to the expressed views of the majority in the Party machine for the purpose of practical

* "The government passed completely and entirely into the hands of one Party, into the hands of our Party, which does not share guidance of the state with any other party. This is what we mean by the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Stalin, "The Reply to Comrade Yansky," Bolshevik, No. 7-8, 1927). And this "Party of the proletarians... must be numerically much smaller than the class of the proletarians." Sochineniya, Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1946).

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implementation of these views). Together with the orthodox, the Revisionists assert that without the principle of democratic centralism the Party could not serve as an effective vanguard of the proletariat. A Party denying this principle could neither effect a revolution (in non-democratic countries where Socialism is completely stymied) nor set up a dictatorship of the proletariat (again, in the countries where Socialism could be introduced only through such a drastic method). However, they reject as anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist the retention and rigid application of this principle (i.e., stressing its centralized nature and completely ignoring its democratic content) if the dictatorship is firmly established or if it need not necessarily be established. Revisionists are on firm ground in criticizing such a practice as anti-Marxist, but it is debatable whether it can be termed anti-Leninist, since Lenin was not specific on this point. However, he was, in comparison to Stalin, undogmatic and was known to reverse himself even on ideologically important issues. The Revisionist case is therefore as good as or better than the orthodox.

(5) Leading Role of the Soviet Union.

Although, as previously noted, this concept is not a bona fide basic Marxist-Leninist principle, it is in the CPSU view the touchstone of Marxist-Leninist purity--the

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ultimate principle to which Marxist-Leninist tenets are but stepping stones. The Soviet ideological linkage of this principle with Marxism-Leninism is as follows.

(a) Philosophical recognition of the primacy of matter (dialectic materialism) is an empty phrase unless the same principle is applied to society in its historical development (historical materialism, primacy of the economic base);

(b) "Scientific" recognition of the "law" that all thought and all human institutions depend on the organizational character of the economy (historical materialism) is an empty phrase unless practical conclusions are drawn from this-- namely, that the capitalist economic system is but a mechanism for the exploitation of the working class, that an irreconcilable class struggle exists, that this class struggle demands the destruction of the old exploiting class (bourgeoisie), and that this destruction must be made irrevocable through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(c) Realization of the necessity of setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat is only wishful thinking unless a suitable mechanism for its realization and maintenance is created, i.e., a Party organized according to the principle

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of democratic centralism.

(d) Subscription to the two guiding organizational principles, democratic centralism for the Party and dictatorship of the proletariat for the State, is for the smaller and weaker Communist parties and States only a dream unless they draw on the support of the powerful Soviet Party and Soviet State and submit to their leadership (leading role of the Soviet Union). This Soviet interpretation, which makes the leading role principle the main criterion of "true" contemporary Marxism-Leninism,* is rejected by Revisionists, as was previously and briefly noted. However, the Revisionist attack on this "doctrine" does not reject Soviet leadership as provided by example, advice, and financial and propaganda support to the other [CM member nations and parties. Moreover, the Revisionist rejection of the leading role principle does not rest on hatred of the Soviet Union, as Soviet propaganda alleges. Revisionists are forced to reject this principle because

* "A revolutionary for a true non-Revisionist Communist is he who...unreservedly, without hesitation..., without arguments, unconditionally, openly and honestly...is ready to defend and strengthen the USSR..."--Stalin, Sochineniya (Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1949), Vol. X, p. 61.

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it has been interpreted by the CPSU to mean that the Soviets control the ideological content, the organizational form, and the political orientation of the ICM. Revisionists believe that this principle is but a mask for modern imperialism and that it is not consonant with either the general goals of Socialism or the concept of scientific Socialism. They also attack the Soviet cover-names for the principle, namely "proletarian internationalism," "international workers' solidarity," "unbreakable unity of the Socialist camp," and "solidarity of the Socialist States." Each one of these slogans presupposes, according to the Soviet view, the leading role of the Soviet Union, and without Soviet backing and Soviet leadership the workers cannot be international, united, solid, or invincible.

g. Principal Orthodox Concepts Attacked by Revisionists.

(1) Leading Role of the Soviet Union. This principle, the main ideological target of Revisionism, is strongly attacked by Revisionists as noted above.

(2) Socialist Realism. Revisionists do not attack the general aims of this principle--the picturing of Socialism in all creative activity (art, literature, theater, music, propaganda) as desirable and realizable--but

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they attack the methods employed in making Socialism "real", such as lies, distortion, gilding of truth, and the picturing of distant goals as present-day reality. They particularly attack the Soviet interpretation which led to Stalin's total control over people's minds, suppression of objective truth, and idolization of Communist Party leaders generally and those of the CPSU in particular.

Probably the best way in which to appreciate the difference which exists between the Orthodox and the Revisionist Communists regarding the meaning of Socialist realism is to view some examples of practices listed by the orthodox as violations which the Revisionists consider as having no bearing on the "true" meaning of the Socialist realist principle. These practices consist of

(a) permitting a character in a novel who is an "enemy of the people" (or of "Socialism", "progress", "Marxism-Leninism", or the "Soviet Fatherland") to go unpunished or undenounced;

(b) failing to reward those who are working for the "people", for "Socialism", for "progress", or against the "dying systems" (currently "imperialism", and formerly feudalism);

(c) giving statistical evidence of better results of non-Marxist-Leninist

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methods without simultaneously pointing out that such results are either temporary or are being used for purposes harmful to Socialism or to the people;

(d) failing to choose topics in literature, art, music which are "Socialistically uplifting", i.e., subjects which do not inspire the reader, viewer, or listener to greater effort on behalf of "progress, peace and Socialism";

(e) assigning to such ideas as truth, beauty, goodness, and morality values which are not derived from Party statutes;

(f) measuring reality and value by methods other than dialectical materialism, as, for instance, formal logic, positivism, or existentialism;

(g) failing to point out the practical and current Socialist significance of any person or event no matter how long ago the person lived or the event took place;

(h) failing to point out the "positive value" of any event or development within the ICM and in the "Socialist Bloc";

(i) failing to report daily progress in the "building of Socialism" and its inevitable final victory throughout the world;

(j) failing to distinguish between the

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positive acts of a Marxist-Leninist or the Soviet Union and the same positive act of an "enemy of Socialism." The orthodox attitude is somewhat akin to the Christian attitude which differentiates between a gift made by a believer "out of the love for God" and the same gift by a non-believer whose only objective is to advertise himself. Thus, if the Soviet Union extends a \$100,000,000 loan to Yugoslavia, it is motivated only by "Socialist fraternal feeling"; but the same \$100,000,000 loan from the "capitalist" U.S. can be motivated only by a selfish or some other diabolic reason.

h. Most Important Theoretical Principles.

(1) Socialist Morality and Socialist Humanism. The Marxist-Leninist concept of morality is that everything is moral which helps in the working class struggle. Thus, morality consists, first, of bringing about the revolution, which establishes the basic condition of progress in Socialist morality, namely, the Socialist ownership of the means of production. Socialist ownership in turn will bring about the objective condition of the progress of the new morality, namely, the rise and extension of Socialist democracy.* Stalin simplified this notion

* "At the root of Communist morality, said Lenin, lies the struggle for the consolidation and the completion of Communism." Radio Moscow broadcast, 20 August 1950, as quoted in The Red Interpreter, Vol. II, p. 982.

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to mean that the statutes of the Communist Party contain all the basic concepts of Socialist morality and ethics. This concept of "Socialist morality", * prevalent during the "period of errors and warpings" (i.e., during the Stalinist period), had party discipline "squenching the very voice of conscience" and personal conviction, according to the Polish Revisionist Adam Schaff. Schaff rejects the Stalinist concept in these words: "Do not be a conformist! Remember personal responsibility, particularly moral responsibility

* The persistence of the Stalinist concept of morality is clearly evident in the official journal of the Slovak CP, Pravda (25-26 September 1958). The Slovak CP adequately represents the acceptable "orthodox" stand on morality because this Party is probably the only one which, while under close guidance and supervision of a Party almost entirely free of any "Revisionist" inclination (i.e., the Czechoslovak CP), is still intensely interested in the problems of morality and ethics. The Polish Revisionist, Adam Schaff, grants that "the problem of moral responsibility in politics is one of those with which Marxism has hitherto not concerned itself" /"Moral Responsibility of Politicians," in Przegląd Kulturalny (Cultural Review), 4 September 1958/. He also points out that one of the "gaps" in Marxist-Leninist ideology is "the personal moral responsibility of man for his deeds."

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for your deeds. '* Additional condemnation of the Stalinist concept is made by another Gomulkaite Revisionist, Barbara Olszewska: in the "so-called previous period...an unethical deed was an ethical one if the authority of superior [Party] orthodoxy stood behind it, morality was identical with Socialist orthodoxy, those and only those who fought for Socialism were moral, all the rest could go to hell." Such a concept is assessed by the Revisionists as "metaphysical", not Marxist-Leninist.**

The Stalinist interpretation is seriously questioned by the Revisionists, particularly those in Poland, Great Britain, and France. They assert that certain things may be true, beautiful or noble (or false, ugly and vile) irrespective of who and why he does them and that they are recognizable as such apart from their relation, if any, to Socialism and Communism. But, being Marxists, and holding a naturalist view of man and his world, Revisionists reject belief in any absolutes and, as a result of this rejection, find it hard to establish the

* "Moral Responsibility of Politicians," Przegląd Kulturalny, 4 September 1958.

** "Argument over Morality--Quotations and Reflections," Prawo i Zycie (The Law and Life), 7 September 1958.

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standards against which morality, truth and beauty can be measured. In describing the essence of morality they speak of the "unchanging values of culture"* and of "essential human values"** without specifying which values are either "essential" or "unchanging" and precisely what makes them so. Other Revisionists claim that in moral principles there is both an eternal and a relative element; that the father of Communism, Marx, who was preoccupied with the search for methods to overthrow capitalism, merely concentrated on the relative elements; and that Marx's "suggestions for the beginning of an introduction to a general theory

* The outstanding Revisionist philosophical speculator regarding morality is Leszek Kolakowski. The quoted phrase comes from the first article of a series on "Responsibility and History" printed in Nowa Kultura (The New Culture), September 1957.

** Cf. the May 1958 issue of Le Communiste, organ of a French Revisionist group.

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of morals" must now be further developed by the non-Stalinists (i.e., Revisionists).*

Certain Revisionist moral philosophers present their "findings" with much fanfare as great new discoveries. They state that they are following and are "creatively" developing the main thoughts of the great humanists of the past. In fact, they equate "humanism" with their concept of "Socialism". For a Revisionist, "Socialist humanism"**

* For an objective treatment of this topic see Professor H. B. Mayo's "The Marxist Theory of Morals", in Encyclopedia of Morals (New York, Philosophical Library, 1956), pp. 323-329 and Professor G. L. Kline's "Current Soviet Morality" (ibid.), pp. 569-580. For a comprehensive presentation of the "true" (i.e., Revisionist) attitude to morals see John Lewis' Marxism and the Open Mind (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957), particularly the chapters on "Marxism and Ethics" (p. 94-131) and "Communism the Heir to the Christian Tradition" (pp. 193-220).

** This term seems to be used by most Revisionist writers and, at one time or another, in all established Revisionist publications; however, the most repetitious usage of the term is found in The New Reasoner, a publication of the British dissidents John Saville and E.P. Thompson; cf. issue No. 1, 1957.

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is a concept which contains all that is true, moral, and beautiful. Some Revisionists, who accept the concept of "Socialist humanism" and declare themselves to be its proponents, exclude any positive value outside this concept and appear to set themselves up as the fount of human wisdom and the crown of human virtue. One such Revisionist "high priest" is the British ex-Stalinist, E. P. Thompson. He himself reports that the writer Colin Wilson attacked his attitude, stating that "the most irritating of the human fleas is a humanist with his conceited parading of the intellect and with his ignorance of his own stupidity."* This particular attack may not be specifically applicable to Thompson, but it must be admitted that over-exposure to the literature of such Revisionist moralizers as Giolitti, Lefebvre, Sartre, Kolakowski, Fast, and Thompson can be very irritating.

The Revisionist claim of virtue embodied in "Socialist humanism" constitutes a powerful

* Cf. E. P. Thompson's article, "Socialism and the Intellectualists", originally printed in the English journal Universities and Left Review, No. 1, 1957. It was reprinted in the Polish Revisionist monthly Zeszyty Teoretyczno-Polityczne (Theoretical-Political Notebook), No. 5, May 1957 from which it is quoted.

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attack on Soviet Communism. It is, however, an equally powerful denunciation of capitalism. In fact, the anti-capitalist orientation of the "Socialist humanist" Revisionists is probably deeper and more basic than their anti-Stalinism. When they denounce Stalinism, it appears to be for the purpose and with the hope of reforming it. To wit, all that is needed is to place "men and women at the center of Socialist theory, instead of resounding abstractions such as the Party, the Two Camps, and the Vanguard of the Working Class."* Capitalism, on the other hand, is denounced because in its very essence it supposedly is a "negation... of the great human capabilities--economic, intellectual, spiritual." If, for an intellectual, approval of Stalinism is a sin of casuistry and sophistry, approval of capitalism constitutes an even greater sin of selfishness and opportunism.**

(2) Scientific Socialism. Revisionists insist that Marxism-Leninism is a science and that therefore its basic principles must

* E. P. Thompson in The New Reasoner, No. 1. 1957.

** E. P. Thompson, "Socialism and the Intellectualists", reprinted in the Polish journal Zeszyty Teoretyczno-Polityczne, No. 5, May 1957.

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not become dogma. Theoretically no difference exists between Revisionist and orthodox Communists on this point, because even the most dogmatic Stalinists insist, in words, that Marxism-Leninism is a science and not a dogma, * that its principles must not be empty words. Revisionists, however, continue to claim that these assertions of the orthodox are meaningless because they are but part of a formal definition of Marxism-Leninism and many facts not supporting its various principles are either ignored completely, declared to be spurious, or otherwise "adjusted" to fit a principle already held. They insist that facts should be treated with greater reverence and when these clash with theory, the theory must be adjusted and not the other way around.

Further, the Revisionists argue that if one accepts Marxism or Marxism-Leninism

* Pravda of 6 February 1947 in an article on "Second Edition of the Biography of Stalin" said that "Stalin, as well as Lenin, defending the position of creative Marxism, unmasked numerous attempts by enemies of Socialism to transform Marxism into a dead dogma." Zhdanov in his article entitled "On the Journal 'Questions of Philosophy, ' " (Pravda, 24 August 1947) defines Marxism-Leninism as "the scientific world outlook."

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as standing for a scientific and non-dogmatic appraisal of economic and social development and for a Socialism which is "humanism in practice", it logically follows that there can be no such thing as Revisionism (as it is used in a derogatory sense by the orthodox) but only revision (a more or less effective adjustment to facts and realities). Likewise, if anyone claims to accept Marxism-Leninism in the above sense but simultaneously criticizes others who interpret the Marxist-Leninist goals differently but in accordance with Marxist-Leninist methodology (i.e., the "scientific principle" of dialectic and historical materialism), then the critic either (a) pays only lip service to Socialism/Communism as a science or (b) claims for himself the prerogative of being the sole arbiter of truth or falsity.

D. Strengths and Weaknesses of Revisionism

Revisionism, viewed as a firm refusal to accept the CPSU as the final authority on the meaning of Marxism-Leninism in its interpretation and application in the various parties and in the ICM as a whole, has both weaknesses and strengths. In this discussion, weaknesses are treated first because they are inherent in the development of Revisionism itself. These weaknesses might better be termed limiting factors, because in spite of them Revisionism has developed to the point of being branded as the "chief danger" to the ICM.

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The first limiting factor is the Revisionists' hatred of capitalism and continued belief in the superiority of Communism. Strong hatred of capitalism tends to act as a brake on Revisionist activity which might jeopardize the victory of Communism over capitalism. The optimistic orthodox interpretation set forth in the Twelve-Party Declaration of November 1957 is designed to capitalize on this very fact. This interpretation states that the victory of Communism over capitalism is "inevitable" in view of the fact that Communist control has been established over a vast area containing nearly one billion people; that the Communist economy is expanding at a much greater rate than the economy of the capitalist countries; and that the Communist military establishment is second to none. It follows that the only thing which could prevent the final and world-wide victory of Communism would be disunity within the bloc of Communist countries and within the parties of the ICM in and outside the Bloc. This ideological appeal for acceptance of Soviet leadership is followed by a call for an uncompromising struggle against internal disruptive forces, of which Revisionism is the chief. Such a struggle of course implies the use of all feasible methods of coercion available to the CPSU and the orthodox leaders in the ICM. Within the Soviet bloc, in particular, the overwhelming force available to the CPSU acts as a damper on the Revisionist challenge.

Secondly, Revisionists are neither organized in their challenge to Soviet orthodox Communist

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authority nor do they appear capable of producing a unified world-wide front against Soviet and orthodox domination of the ICM. There are only three organized Revisionist groups (Titoists, Gomulkaites, and some national sections of the Trotskyite movements) in which individual unity is also expressed in a more or less coherent and all-encompassing ideology.

Although Gomulkaism was definitely a Revisionist trend during 1956-1958, the 3rd PZPR Congress of March 1959 and the current PZPR press indicate a considerable shift toward more orthodox positions. Nevertheless, sufficient remnants of Revisionist thinking appear to exist in the Gomulka-controlled Polish Party to justify the continued classification of Gomulkaism as Revisionism. But any significant additional muzzling of Party and non-Party intelligentsia, any significant additional tightening of control over press and publications, and a reversal of the current policies on agriculture and small industry, together with an enthusiastic acceptance of the principle of the leading role of the CPSU, would eliminate Gomulkaism as a trend distinct from orthodox Communism.

Titoists avoid like the plague any identification with the followers of the discredited Trotsky. Gomulkaites are determined to avoid identification with either Titoists or Trotskyites, and the Trotskyites have hardly more in common with Titoists and Gomulkaites than a hatred of Stalin and of his interpretation and application of

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Marxism-Leninism. Actually the only firm common denominator for all Revisionists is their resistance to Stalinist practices, but unfortunately there is no agreement among the Revisionists as to the meaning and full content of Stalinism. For example, Trotskyites consider Stalinism as a betrayal of "world revolution" and are not particularly concerned about features of Stalinism to which other Revisionists object, such as the lack of regard for human dignity. Others allude to Stalinist crimes, immorality, chauvinism, rigidity, etc.

In 1957 and 1958 two important French Revisionists, Auguste Lecoœur and Pierre Herve, made an unsuccessful attempt to organize an international Revisionist center.* The only agreement reached was a vague formula that it is good for anti-Stalinists to meet (without saying how often and on what basis) in order "to exchange experiences and study the best means for pursuing our battle which, at heart, is the same for all countries: the struggle for Socialism in liberty and justice."**

* Lecoœur's Revisionist newspaper, La Nation Socialiste, devoted much space to this project throughout 1957 and early in 1958.

** Antonio d'Ambrosio in the Italian Revisionist publication Corrispondenza Socialista, as reported in February 1958.

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Finally, Revisionists too often criticize the CPSU and orthodox Communist authority without having a coherent and clearly outlined program of their own. As noted in the Soviet press, "not one single revisionist group in Italy or France succeeded in establishing at least a bureau of its own ideology, to draft at least general outlines of a program."* It should be observed here as a conjecture that when Revisionist (or critical) activity is largely negative, people are prone to tire of cries of indignation and repeated criticism. Then Revisionism disappears from public view and temporarily ceases to act as an open challenge to the Soviet authority.

Although Revisionism is limited by the above factors, there can be no doubt--based on the extent and persistence of anti-Revisionist propaganda--that the Soviet leaders are seriously concerned about the Revisionist threat to their hegemony in the ICM.** This concern appears to rest on the following two chief strong points of Revisionism.

* J. Putrament, "The Quicker the Better," Izvestia, 26 July 1958.

** The Soviet journal Moskva, No. 1, 1958, states: "Revisionism and national communism must be beaten and destroyed ideologically...; either we bury revisionism or revisionism buries us. There is no third course."

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First, Revisionism, as a trend within the ICM, has real knowledge of the situation in the ICM and presents criticism which distinguishes between the bleak realities and the embellished claims of Communism. Revisionism exposes with authority the counterfeit value of "Socialist realism"; it presents clearly and unmistakably the many contradictions within the Communist ideological, political, social, and economic system.

Secondly, Revisionism encompasses all the major factors of anti-Soviet resistance, such as nationalism, respect for the rule of law, admiration for democratic procedures, concern for morality, and an appreciation of human dignity and personal freedom. Thus, Revisionism is seen by the orthodox Communists as a serious and lasting danger because it attempts to provide a documented, Marxist ideological basis for rebellion against the Soviet-imposed interpretation which currently predominates over the ICM.

The potential of Revisionism has been aptly demonstrated since World War II: first by Tito's defection; then the East Berlin workers' uprising in 1953; the Poznan workers' demonstrations and the Hungarian revolution in 1956, and the subsequent formation of factions within CP's; the organization of splinter groups; and numerous defections of important Communist figures throughout the ICM. There appears to be sufficient presumptive evidence that Revisionist thinking had been the chief danger to orthodox ideological and organizational concepts throughout the whole history

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of the international workers' movement, that it had resulted in the setting up of independent non-Communist parties representing the workers (Social Democratic parties), that it had transformed the separate Social Democratic parties into anti-Communist organizations, and finally, that it had been the chief cause of all significant individual Communist defections and purges.

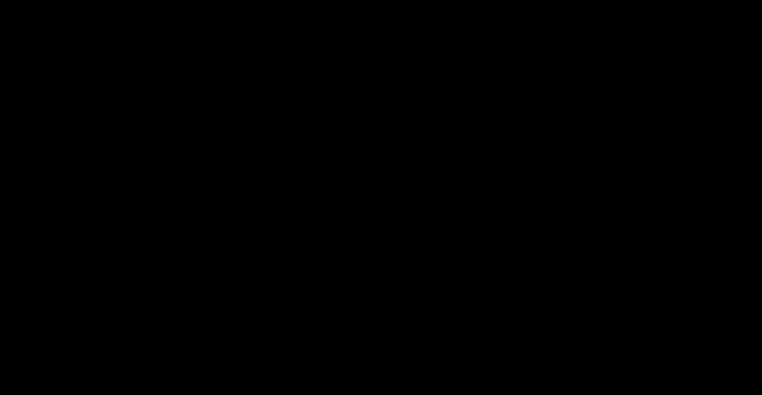
Politically, the most important Revisionist today is, of course, Tito (in addition to its lessening intensity, Gomulka's brand of Revisionism has much more limited international significance than that of Tito). His defiance of Soviet authority and independent interpretation and application of Marxism-Leninism provide a living example that Socialism can be built independently, free of Soviet direction and without copying the established Soviet model. Moreover, Tito has stated his willingness to assist other Revisionists in fighting "old Stalinist positions". In his 11 November 1956 speech at Pula, Tito stated: We must "act in closest contact with the Polish Government and Party, and help them as much as we can. Together with the Polish comrades, we shall have to fight such tendencies i. e., the clinging to the "old Stalinist positions".^{*}

* National Communism and Popular Revolt in Eastern Europe, edited by Paul E. Zinner (New York, Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 535.

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Because Revisionism generally undermines Soviet ideological and organizational control of the ICM, it is in the interest of all democratic forces to sustain and encourage it, e.g., by acceptance and propagation of the interpretation of Marxism-Leninism and the essence of Communism from the standpoint of Revisionism. This is obviously not to be understood as approval of Revisionism per se or to suggest the propagation of Revisionism as a substitute for any existing non-Communist programs or systems outside the Sino-Soviet orbit. [REDACTED]



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